1: Gifford E-4 5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

rough and heavy work. He feeds them with the best of foods. When the work is over, he makes a handsome present of fine mats and other objects to the chief carpenter. A carpenter, even if dissatisfied with the conditions, may not throw down his tools—as is done in Samoa. A carpenter may build houses for matapules and commoners as well as chiefs. Only rarely he builds a house for a commoner, and only when the commoner is so fortunate as to possess something suitable as a present. Most commoners erect their own humble dwellings. The matapules, however, invariably having plenty of worldly goods, can well afford to pay the carpenter.

Burial vaults made of six slabs of coral limestone forming a rectangular box are the work of stone masons called *tufunga taomaka*. Mariner limits the stone mason to the *mua* and *tua* classes but Fakauho, who is at the same time mason and carpenter, is a matapule—perhaps a modern exception.

Fishing

Communal fishing (*pola*) in Tonga is practiced on a large scale. In a seaside community a *toutai*, to whom the special name of *pulepola* (ruler of the *pola*) is applied, organizes the fishing. He gets a number of men (*kauleo*) to assist him in supplying of materials and constructing the apparatus. In a *pola* held near Nukualofa on February 12, 1921, about forty of these men directed the activities of more than a thousand people:

On February 9, the *kauleo* with their wives and children, headed by the *pulepola*, assembled at the appointed place and for two days made preparation. Before noon of February 12 the apparatus, including a huge fence of coconut leaves, was completed. Meantime all the countryside, men, women, and children, had gathered on the beach to take part in the fishing. The *pulepola*, the district chief, and the *kauleo* caught two baskets of fish which were sent to the Queen by two boys on horseback. After this tribute was made, everyone kept what he caught, even those who had taken no hand in the construction of the apparatus. The *kauleo* and the *pulepola* were well oiled, girded with good mats and *sisi* and wore flower garlands about the neck. The rest of the people were dressed in ordinary working clothes.

Each *tofia* (hereditary lands of a chief) had exclusive rights to the *pola* grounds (*tanungapola*) on its waterfront and any community fronting on the shore could at will construct *pola* on its waterfront. Inland communities did not take part, obtaining fish from seashore peoples of the same chiefly districts.

If the shore lines of a chief's territory did not possess the sandy bottom essential to the *pola* construction, he could seek permission to use a neighboring *tanungapola*. Should permission be granted, the chief of the *tofia*

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 0U9 Tonga 0U9

Coiled baskets (*katoalu*) are made by women, but never for their own use. Most of them are intended as gifts to a chief or for presents at weddings, funerals, or similar occasions. The basket may be used by the recipient, but many baskets, particularly openwork baskets, seem to be put to no practical use.

Wooden bowls were made by men who probably were *tufunga langafale*.

Tongan medical treatment is a mixture of magic and herb doctoring. (See page 338.) Most of the doctors are commoners, and may be either male or female (*tangata faitoo* or *fefine faitoo*). They are not appointed by chiefs, but usually follow the practice of a parent, thus keeping the knowledge a secret within the family. Payment (*tukutoo*) is made after a cure, in the form of a feast, during which valuable articles (*koloa*, wealth) such as tapa and mats are placed in front of the doctor. The supercisor of boys was termed *faikaukau* of *faitefe*. (See p. 188.)

While barbers, according to Mariner, might be either men or women, most of them are said to have been women. Women of chiefly rank could serve as barbers for chiefs.

TITLES OF MATAPULES AND ARTISANS

The following list includes the matapule titles which I have recorded, together with the origin of each title and the relationships of the incumbents so far as known. The titles of artisans are included, though all of them may not be strictly matapule titles. (See p. 144.)

Afeaki, matapule to the Tui Kanokupolu. Resides in Haapai.

Afu Haa Laufuli, a matapule of the Haa Molofaha, serving the Tui Kanokupolu; resides in Vavau. Anciently he was matapule to the Tui Haa Takalaua and had a house at Fonuamotu, Tongatabu, the residence of the Tui Haa Takalaua.

Afu Haa Mango, a matapule. Residence Okoa Island, Vavau.

Ahomee, a carpenter (*tufunga fale*) appointed by the chief Ahomee in whose *tofia* at Utui, Vavau, he lives. He was preceded in title by his father and his father's father. The present holder of the title is said to be a younger brother of the chief Ahomee.

Akauola, the *toutai* (navigator) of the king of Tonga. A member of the Haa Toutai. He is said to be of Samoan descent, the Samoan form of his title being Laauola. Akauola and Moala are related.

Angakehe, a matapule in the village of Uiha, Uiha Island, Haapai, serving the chief Malupo of that place.

Faingaa, a *toutai ika* (fisherman) of Talau, Vavau Island. Perhaps this is one of the Falefa matapules, for his partner is Mapu, as with Falefa matapules.

Fakatea, ruler of Vavau displaced by Tuituiohu, the "governor" sent there by the Tui Tonga Pau. Fakatea is said to have been only a matapule.

Fakatulolo, also called Lutui and Fokololo. A matapule of the Haa Toutai, now serving the Tui Kanokupolu, but formerly serving the Tui Haa Takalaua. The first incumbent is said to have come from the Tokelau Islands. Fokololo is the name of the garment worn by people when going into the sea. The first Fakatulolo of whom I have record was succeeded by his son Siu, who was succeeded by his daughter's son Tukia, who was succeeded by his brother Ngongo. A Fakatulolo died August 5, 1897.

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

thus schooled: nor would any one, as Mr. Mariner believes, undertake an important surgical operation, unless he feels himself confident in what he is about to perform; and it must be said of them, that they are not rash in their opinions. When a surgeon performs an operation, he never fails to obtain a present from the patient or his friends.

The three most important operations are *cawso*, or paracentesis thoracis; *tocolosi*, or an operation for the cure of tetanus, which consists in making a seton of the urethra; and *boca*, or castration.

Cawso is an operation which is performed to allow of the escape of extravasated blood, which may have lodged in the cavity of the thorax, in consequence of wounds, or for the extraction of a broken arrow. There are no other instances where they think of performing it. The instruments they use are a piece of bamboo and a splinter of shell; sometimes a probe made of the mid-rib of the cocoa-nut leaf. Mr. Mariner has seen a number of persons on whom the operation had been performed, and who were in perfect health; and two instances of the fact itself he was an eye-witness to. The one we are about to describe was performed upon a Fiji islander, who had received a barbed arrow in the right side, be-

6: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1928 OU9 Tonga OU9

19. Kanakana is a pool in Teekiu, western Tongatabu, where dwelt the god Tutula, or Haelefeke, who appeared in the octopus (*feke*). Besides the advice to Falepapalangi to go and find a pool and the trees as subjects of his verse, there seems to be the idea also of finding a god to be the patron of his muse.

20. For *ai* (almond tree), *vai* (water, pool) may be read as a variant, and instead of *ua* (two), *na* (there). Without knowing just what is referred to there is no way of choosing definitely between the various possible readings. The man may be represented as speaking to someone in Hihifo "who knows," and asking "Where is that almond tree, or pool that you people talk about?" or as asking "Where is the double almond tree, or double pool?" Two pools, or two trees, close together, would make a sufficiently conspicuous land-mark to be noted, and *ua* is probably the correct reading.

Pages 67-69. A poem of Falepapalangi

1. A chief sometimes gives his kava to someone of lower rank than himself, usually as a reward for services rendered. This bestows on the man to whom the kava is given the right to clap and have the cup brought to him when the chief's name is called. This privilege is transmitted from generation to generation. The hypothetical charge which Falepapalangi is considering is that of having brought to him in the kava ring a cup which has not been so given to him, a much more serious usurpation than merely draining off a cup of someone's else drink.

2. Falepapalangi seems to claim having borne off the prize, probably against Mamaeaepoto on some specific occasion when the King was present. There is a possibility, however, that he refers to his poetical skill as a heaven-sent gift of the gods; Tangaloa is the lord of the heavens. It is in keeping with the spirit of Tongan poetry to consider all the possible meanings and allusions as more or less involved.

3. Kafoa and Talau are hills in Vavau. That the hills had fallen means that Vavau, in the person of Mamaeaepoto, had been defeated in poetical contest, and, as a Tongatabu man, Falepapalangi turns the tables on Mamaeaepoto's assertion that the Tongatabu poet has neglected the beauties of his own land to abuse the poet of Vavau. Falepapalangi contends that he, the Tongatabu poet, has not been unmindful of the claims of Vavau to commemoration; that his rival has mentioned to him places in Tongatabu that might be visited for poetical inspiration, and in his retort infers that he knows and is quite willing to celebrate Mamaeaepoto's land.

4. Meaning "We were in complete accord about the charms of Vavau."

5. The king, the Tui Kanokupolu, and those connected with him, are called *hoa moheofo*. Moheofo is the daughter of the Tui Kanokupolu, who was taken as the principal wife of the Tui Tonga. *Mohe* in *moheofo* is not the same root as *mohe*, sleep (compare with *moheofo*, the Samoan *masiofo*).

6. Pangai is the court of the Tui Kanokupulu, or the place where this king holds his court and great gatherings.

7. The word *liku-loto* is used of an inland place that is precipitous and has the appearance of the cliffs of the weather coast. It is proverbial for that which is not what it seems.

8. The term *faka-vavau* (Vavau fashion) is proverbial for talk that is boastful.

9. "Hiding and squeaking" is used of that which hides, but reveals its presence by noise. Here, apparently, it means lying low and uttering plaints hard to understand.

10. This metaphor is from the game of *lafo*. The raised edge of the mat on which the pieces are thrown is called *kaunahu;* players were able to make good use of this, as a billiard player makes use of the cushion. *Futa kaunahu* (pride in the raised edge) is pride over a successful shot due to the mat rather than to the player's ability. Hence it indicates boasting of what is due to extraneous circumstances rather than to skill. Evidently Falepapalangi refers to an occasion on which Mamaeaepoto has defeated him. Possibly the themes of the poets on that occasion were their native lands, and Falepapalangi means that Mamaeaepoto's victory was due to the scenic superiority of Vavau to Tongatabu rather than to the poet's skill.

11. Perhaps a living dog, or perhaps merely a way of saying that the matter be left to one who is good at following up clues. A dog was prominently associated with the worship of the god Pulotukatoa in eastern Tongatabu.

12. The theft is Mamaeaepoto's claim to seamanship.

13. That is, the place where people sit and talk on deck, as distinguished from the working part of the ship. Falepapalangi says that Mamaeaepoto wants to leave the

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
OU9 Tonga OU9
Vavau
Pangai

342 283 closed, and the husks baked for about four days. Then the oven is opened, the husks removed and buried in the reef shallows for a further three or four days. Then the husks are placed on a wooden base and pounded with a wooden pounder until all the inter-fibrous material is removed. The fibres are dried and are now ready for braiding.

342 283 464 476 The braiding is done by a working-party consisting of men and women who are invited to a *kava* party. The fibres are rolled on the thigh or sole of the foot and are made into three-ply braid. Half a dozen men and women, working industriously will probably braid up to one hundred fathoms in a long evening's work. Until the required amount is finished, the prospective owner will use all his spare time braiding this sennit.

342 335 463 If the house is to be well built and something to be proud of, it is necessary to engage the services of an expert builder to supervise the building, lay out the framework, fit the poles and beams securely and neatly, and to tie the more ornamental and complicated lashings. If such an expert is not a relative, he is given today for his services a gift of perhaps [465] two pounds in cash for a one-fathom house, six pounds for a two-fathom house and proportionately more for a larger house. The size of the house is referred to in terms of the length of the rectangular central portion of the house, excluding the extra length provided by the apsidal ends. [461] A two-fathom house may take some two weeks to build if the work is carried on without major interruptions. If the expert is a member of the household or a relative, he would expect only a gift of a large pig together with food-staples for his services.

342 464 476 The heavy work of building and thatching together with all minor jobs are carried out by a working-party made up of members of the household, relatives, and friends. The workers are fed generously by the house-owner. Women make all the thatching-sheets, wall-mats and floor-mats. They also help prepare the food for the workers. The division of labour and the organization of work are such that many are called upon to help before the structure is at last completed.

844 mother calls out: "*Ko ho manava, mo hoku manava*"—literally, "My breath and your breath." The father takes the afterbirth with the cord attached and digs a hole in the middle of a path near the house. He burns some dry leaves in this hole to warm it and then, when the fire dies down, places the afterbirth in the hole after wrapping it in bark cloth. The hole is then carefully filled in with earth.

Meanwhile the baby is being wiped clean with warm water. It is wrapped warmly in bark cloth and allowed to rest in the grandmother's lap. The medicine-man is given [759] presents in return for his services: mats, bark cloth, food, [465] sometimes money. The husband prepares a feast with as big a pig as he can afford. *Kava* is served to all friends [574] and relatives in the house. When the food is served, the [262] mother may not eat pork. The most honourable part of the pig, its back, is given to the medicine-man.

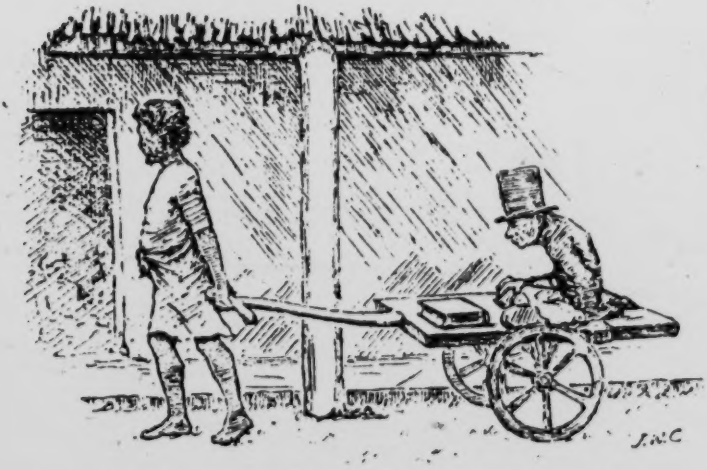
604 Two relatives who will later play an important role in
846 the child's life, observe a different procedure. The *mehekitanga* (father's sister) may come into the house and hold
601 the child in giving it a name. The *fa'e tangata* (mother's brother) may not come into the house but spends his time in the cook-house helping with the feast.

846 For ten days after the birth the mother is confined entirely to the house. At the end of this time, the infant is [854] given a warm-water bath by the mother's mother. The mother may now leave the house to attend to bodily needs, but stays closely confined in the house for the rest of the day and night. This confinement lasts for three months in the case of the first-born, for two months in the case of a second-born, and thereafter for one month in the case of subsequent [795] children. A formal baptism in the church marks the end of this confinement of the mother. After this, the mother returns to full participation in the work of the household and in the everyday life of the village.

In the ten day confinement period, the routine is as follows: Mother and baby lie on separate beds of bark cloth. The mother's head is wrapped in a turban of bark [854] cloth and she is covered with layers of bark cloth. Close to her lies the baby surrounded with an enclosure of bark cloth over which a piece of cotton or muslin is thrown to keep away [574] flies. During the first day the father is busy preparing the

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

affected to the present Cabinet by profession, old Peter is long past polemics, for all creeds seem much alike when one is ninety, and expecting every day to have one's doubts explained away. Young Peter was only a third clerk in the Treasury at £10 a-year, and bad at arithmetic, and he wanted to be Sub-Inspector of Police at



"He paid us a visit in a hand-cart."

£25; so, having his way to make in the world, he was a loyal spy. The other was Tukuaho's cousin. He was an ex-convict, and looked his part of spy so well that I suspect that the conversation at once turned upon the weather in any house that he entered; but this did not prevent him from bringing blood-curdling reports of the hostility of the people, drawn probably from hearsay aided by a facile imagination.

Having despatched our spies on secret service, we had

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

in virtue of his local rank. His office, however, seemed to place him next to the Governor in importance, for he alone can have the ordering of other men's labour without paying for it—a distinction that carries weight in every community. Tukuaho told them how much he regretted that an empty Treasury had tied his hands, so that he could not yet pay them the nine months' salary due to them on Mr Baker's departure; but he announced that from that day forward their salaries would be punctually remitted to them, and that the payment of the amount owing to them by his predecessor (he was not going to speak ill of the absent) would depend upon their own loyalty. The sooner they could induce their friends to pay their taxes, the sooner would they receive the arrears due to them.

Next day the mail-steamer from New Zealand put in, after touching at Nukualofa. From the former place she brought Mr Baker's son—formerly his private secretary—carrying, for distribution among the natives, a bundle of lithographs of his father, subscribed "The Premier appointed by Tubou"; and from the latter Mr Watkin, the chief minister of the Free Church, and the staunch ally of the late Premier, ostensibly to make church collections, but also, as it afterwards proved, to further unsettle the minds of his flock.

At mid-day we set sail for Nukualofa. A chain of volcanoes traverses the Tongan group from north to south, and one or other of the craters is generally in a state of sufficient activity to be employed by one of the contending Church parties against the other. In August 1886, the sudden eruption in Niuafoou was pointed to by the

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

of bread, nor forge a bolt, nor splice a strap. Their thirst is not for knowledge, but for showy accomplishments: their genius is frothy and ephemeral. This moral untidiness pervades everything. In the king's palace there is a throne-room furnished like an Australian parlour, with Kidderminster carpet, ormolu ornaments under glass shades, and crewel-work mats on the tables,—the whole in unimaginable order,—while in a bare room on the ground-floor the king sleeps on his mat spread on the boards, and eats his yams from a single plate. A Cabinet Minister may be seen sitting on the floor of his well-furnished office eating his mid-day meal from a large dish with his fingers. The Minister of Police bustles about his work, delighted with the new routine he imperfectly understands. "It is excellent," he says with enthusiasm only he cannot say how many officials draw pay in his department, nor can the Premier as Minister of Education. The latter thinks that they are paid in proportion to the number of their pupils, but he does not know for certain. Shrewd old Sateki, the Auditor-General, alone is not enthusiastic. He dares to think that some day his work will be plain to him, but at present his mind is darkened. He is a really dependable subordinate this Sateki, but I can see that he sighs for the day when he received his orders, right or wrong, and had only to carry them out without the responsibility of deciding anything for himself.

He was the only official besides Tukuaho who attended his office every day. The pay of the Civil servants was fixed on the supposition that they should have time for the cultivation of their food-gardens. The clerks had to attend

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

their offices on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays, but they were free on all other days in the week. This arrangement had its inconveniences, but so long as it afforded a reason for not increasing the salaries, it could not be altered. Tukuaho did his best to attend every day; but funeral feasts or the requirements of religion (he was a local preacher) often interfered to keep him from the office, and I had to content myself with the reflection that he was advancing our interests by the not less effective means of making friends with the mammon of unrighteousness. But the others did not even keep the short hours required of them. Not many days after our first Cabinet Council there was a fresh alarm that the Treasury was closed again on a Friday. A policeman was despatched in hot haste to fetch the Treasury officials, and in ten minutes a melancholy procession filed into the office, headed by Goschen. "This is Friday," I began, "and the Treasury is closed again at three o'clock. How is our work to go on under such conditions?" The aged Minister and his satellites crouched cross-legged before me like a lot of naughty schoolboys. "We were in church," said Goschen, solemnly. This spiked my gun, and I handed them over to Tukuaho, who knew more of their spiritual requirements than I.

The Tongans are a race of athletes. In foot-races and feats of strength, notably the tug-of-war, they have generally worsted the blue-jackets whom they have challenged, but their real passion is cricket. Soon after its introduction the game became a national danger. The plantations were neglected; the cocoa-nuts lay rotting on the ground: for the whole population played cricket from

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

The Wesleyan missionaries had made two mistakes— they had humbled the chiefs, and they had vilified their rivals. They were now to make a third. Political power was in their grasp, and with the fearlessness of deep ignorance they rushed on their doom. Brought up in Australia to believe that universal suffrage and representative government is the nearest approach to Utopia attainable by mortal man, they persuaded the king and chiefs against their better judgment to exchange the ancient communal system for a bran-new constitution on the English plan. Those who have seen the machine at work in the Australian colonies will know best how it was to behave in Tonga. They had sealed the fate of their own cause. The commoners, accustomed to let their chief think for them, now found themselves free to think and act as their inclinations led them, and the first result was a weakening of the influence of the missionaries, who began to find the smattering of education they had given to their native helpers a source of danger. The native ministers had a vote in their district meetings, and began to exercise it independently. Awkward questions were whispered about salaries. What was the difference between the foreigner and the Tongan, that the one should have £200 a-year and a wooden house, and the other £20 and a grass hut? When Mr Baker brought his acquisitive genius to bear upon the system of mission collections, the conference in Sydney had still the absolute disposal of the funds, and the country was annually drained of many thousands of dollars over and above the cost of local expenditure. Demands were not unnaturally made for a share in the disposal of this money, and, as I have

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

This unusually spirited conduct of the Government produced a panic among the defaulting taxpayers. They became, indeed, almost as unscrupulous in their way of raising money for the Government as for the Churches. In the next three weeks we began to see our way out of our financial difficulties. The debt could already be discharged by instalments, and the arrears of salary to officials could safely be left to Parliament, upon whose rather reckless imagination it might have a healthy restraining influence when the Budget came to be discussed. My chief concern was to prevent my colleagues from revolting against the rigid economy I had enforced upon them, now that they knew there was a balance in the Treasury. About this time a meeting of the Cabinet was held to decide finally upon the Budget that was to be laid before Parliament. Tukuaho fully explained that the sole object of the meeting was to secure unanimity among the Ministers. We took the items *seriatim*—salaries first. When we came to the Premier's department, Kubu proposed that Tukuaho should withdraw, and thus relieve us of the delicacy of discussing the question of his emoluments in his presence. And now began a very elegant display of log-rolling. Tukuaho's salary was raised at one stroke from £400 a-year to £700. Then Kubu's turn came, and he withdrew, to receive an addition of £50; and the whole of the Cabinet, except the Chief-Justice, who was absent, were in like manner handsomely provided for. My lips were sealed, because my own salary was being voted for the additional term of six months for which the High Commissioner, at the king's request, had allowed me to remain, and the Ministers would have been in-

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

capable of distinguishing between voting an ordinary salary and voting themselves an addition, since both acts sprang from a high-minded liberality. But that night Tukuaho, who was the one member of the Cabinet who cared more for his work than for its emoluments, came to ask me whether the minutes of the meeting might not be cancelled and expunged from the book. He wanted no increase of salary, he said; but when they had voted him one, he could not in decency refuse the same courtesy to others. It was a *mea fakatonga*—a necessity of Tongan etiquette; and since even the incorruptible Sateki had yielded to the prevailing spirit of generosity, and had accepted an increase of £30, I suppose that it was.

We now gave political dinners almost nightly. As Parliament drew near, and rumours reached us of vengeance vowed over the kava-bowls of Vavau, Tukuaho lost no opportunity of seizing and converting all the influential Vavauans who chanced to visit Nukualofa. No sooner did they set foot in the capital than they received an invitation to dine with me. Besides G—— and myself, the party usually consisted of Tukuaho, his father or Kubu, and the victim. Our quarry would fain have borrowed from his friends for the occasion the full panoply of European dress, but the invitation always specified native attire. There was a dinner with champagne, and as soon as the only lady had withdrawn, whisky and politics. The guest always went away with triumph in his heart that among all the chiefs of Vavau the Cabinet had thought *his* advice only as worth seeking. He generally wept over the parting glass: he always swore by "Jihovah" to support us to the death. From

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

is, moreover, held in awe by the Commons, for "Tungi ne montre jamais le fond du sac," as one of the French priests said of him. He is followed by Mr W——, the Pontifex Maximus of Tonga, clad in decent black, and wearing an expression of deprecating piety. He is to earn to-day his stipend as Royal Chaplain, an item that has received the anxious attention of the Cabinet, to whom a retrenchment of £100 a-year is of importance. He gives out a hymn, the member for Vavau, who forms the choir, bellows the tune, while the rest follow him two octaves lower pianissimo. The House shades its eyes with its hand, while the prelate wrestles in prayer and discreetly withdraws. There is a pause. Then Mataka, the chief clerk (who, by the way, is still supposed to be undergoing imprisonment for flirting with the fair Lobase), calls the roll. The new members are now to take the oath. The ceremony is imposing until the turn of the two Roman Catholic members arrives. They object to be sworn upon the Protestant Bible, and a clerk runs in haste for a version of the Bible translated into Tongan by the Roman Catholics. He returns with a thick shiny-covered book, which the two members kiss cheerfully. I examined it afterwards, and

The clerk of the Parliament.

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

There is always a
"wise woman" officiating, generally one of the hereditary sisterhood, but sometimes an old woman who had adopted the profession from choice, and is consequently looked down upon as an interloper and a quack. The fees, given in kind, are high when the poverty of the donors is considered—*ngatu* and mats to the value of 30s. or more. The "wise woman" receives the child on a tiny mat specially plaited for the occasion. If it is a boy, the umbilicus is severed on a digging-stick to make him a good cultivator; if a girl, on a *ngatu*-mallet to make her a good beater of cloth. The child is then washed and rubbed over with oil and turmeric, a small quantity of candle-nut and cocoa-nut juice is forced into its mouth to make it vomit, and for the first two days it is fed by hand upon cocoa-nut-milk, or suckled by another woman, because at that early stage the mother's milk is believed to be insufficient and unwholesome. During the first month the child's grandmothers, or its unmarried aunts, are told off to supply the mother with food and look after the house, and the mother is spared all exertion. It would be better for her and the child if at this stage she were also deprived of kava and tobacco. Before the missionaries had inculcated family life on the European plan, the native social system recognised a physical peculiarity in Tongan women, and insisted upon the seclusion of the mother during the whole period of lactation in order to avoid a second gestation within too short a period of the birth, and consequently the premature weaning of the first child. As in Japan, the time of suckling was prolonged until all the teeth had come; for the Tongans have no good substitute for the mother's

15: Thomson G-3 (1886-1900) 1902
OU9 Tonga OU9

for less than a dollar. As soon as it transpired that there was nothing in it to preclude one Tongan from pleading for another, every native who could talk better than he could work took to loafing about the police courts, offering himself as a mouthpiece to the litigants. His fees were tentative at first—"give me what you like if I get you off," and so on—but now he likes to be paid in advance, though you can brief him with a sucking-pig and keep him going with an armful of yams as a "refresher." The *loya* who enjoyed the largest practice were those who had the code at their finger-ends, and had acquired a high reputation for obscuring the issue and confusing the common sense of the court.

The chief justice also gave me a summary of the birth and death returns for the nine years ending December, 1899. I do not regard them with any confidence, partly because I know the haphazard way in which the registers are kept, and partly because, assuming the total population of the kingdom to be not less than 19,000,* the death-rate is represented as low as eleven per thousand and the birth-rate as high

* The Mission returns put the total population at 19,968: Tongatabu, 8,454; Haapai, 5,087; Vavau, 4,589; Niuatobutabu, 710; Niuafoou, 1,128. The males exceed the females by 454, or 2·2 per cent., and the adults outnumber the children.

45: Aoyagi E-5 (1962-1963) 1966 OU9 Tonga OU9
Nukuleka

are inshore, if he should step out of his house, the *matai* will get away. Formerly, the head of the *matai* was always offered to Leka.

Other *matapule* and *ofisa kolo*

Besides Leka, there are two *matapule*, Mautea and Ikaholi, in this village. Mautea was appointed to the position of a *matapule* of the Queen by one of his relations, Lauaki, in 1950, who was the chief *matapule* of the Queen. Mautea thinks that his duty as a *matapule* is to participate in royal funerals. He also attends the kava ceremony held by the Queen, but is not aware of the order of drinking kava. Ikaholi, succeeding to his grandfather, has become a *matapule* of a noble at Mu'a. He is quite young and has no knowledge about the duty of a *matapule*.

Ofisa kolo, town officer, was a man of fifty eight years old at the times of this study. He held this position from 1930 to 1943 and from 1958 on. The premier appoints the officer and the Government pays him a small amount of money. As a representative of the villagers as well as an agent of the Government, he reports every day within the village, takes charge of the wooden cases for bananas which are brought in by the Tongan Produce Board, and announces the Government's intentions at the *fono*, village council. According to him, the qualification of town officer is to belong to a good family, to have never done wrong, to have his own *api tukuhau* and so on. Since the term of town officer is unlimited, one remains in office usually until death or retirement. The *ofisa kolo* of this village has several times requested the Premier to replace him for reasons of health, but he still retains his office. There seems to be little difference between thse men and ordinary villagers in economic life or status. The size of the *api tukuhau* held by them is about the same as others and the crop produced on it is mostly consumed by their families.

II Family

Household Composition

There are 35 households in this village. We may exclude two households of the stewards of the Free Wesleyan Church and the Free Church of Tonga from the village households in what follows. The household is a unit of everyday living. Its members usually share a common *fale mohe* (sleeping room), *fale kuki* (kitchen), *fale kaukau* (bath room), and *fale malolo* (rest room). Some of the households do not have *fale kaukau* or *fale malolo*. The location of households is sketched in Fig. 1.[8] The size of the household varies, with an average of 6.15 persons.

Table 1. The Household Size and Generational Composition

No. of Persons	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	13	Total
1 Generation	1	1									2
2 Generations	1	5	3	1	2	3	4	3	1		23
3 Generations					3	2	1		1	1	8

8. The household number (1-34) is given to each according to the ecological arrangement of the households. It is interchangeably used for indicating its household head. European style houses, made of wood, are rectangular. Traditional Tongan style houses are thatched with coconut leaves. Semi-traditional Tongan style houses have wooden walls and tin roofs. Fijian style houses, made of coconut leaves, are rectangular.

46: Decktor Korn E-5 (1969-1970) 1978 OU9 Tonga OU9
Tongatapu
Motulahi

sixty were classed as being engaged primarily in agriculture for household consumption and export. This is a figure for the total population, including men who reside in the towns. As Walsh points out in a paper entitled "A Tongan Urban Peasantry?",

> Town dwellers are inescapably bound up with the land. They own it as much as villagers, they rely on it to supplement wages kept low on the assumption of an additional income from agriculture, they value it as a means of fulfilling family obligations and as a measure of their social importance and they depend on it for food (1969: 93).

The figures on external trade (quoted earlier) further indicate the role of agriculture in the Tongan economy: throughout the 1960s, bananas and coconut products made up over 90% of the value of Tonga's exports. Furthermore, there are no grounds for anticipating the development of non-agricultural exports on any significant scale. In the late 1960s, much hope was based on the possibility that explorations for oil would prove fruitful. This has not yet materialized, however. And in trying to develop non-agricultural industries, Tonga is in the difficult position of having to compete with Fiji and Western Samoa, both of which enjoy relatively large home markets and are also more advantageously placed to export their goods.

In view of Tonga's dependence on agriculture both for subsistence and export, the rising population figures are cause for concern about increasing pressure on land as an agricultural resource. A figure for 1963 gives the extent

423 to the use of land. For every two householders with 'api tukuhau there was a further householder who was sharing land with a relation. The situation with regards to 'api kolo demonstrated the social significance of land still further—a third of the householders were sharing the 'api of relations.

369 [434] [433] Just as no village family could rely entirely on subsistence agriculture, few families in the town could rely entirely on wages. The town's economy, like the traditional peasant economy outlined by Franklin,[18] is labour and not capital intensive, kin relations serve a socio-economic role and there is a close attachment to the land. It 592 [434] would be erroneous to talk of per capita income in Tonga; the important consideration is family income. Although not entirely controlled by the head of the household as chef d'entreprise, the broad direction of spendings earned by members of a family is the concern of all the family, especially so in times of crisis or investment in [594] [595] education. And the families, though nuclear by residence, are extended in terms of mutual recognition of services and obligations.[19]

183 602 369 It would not be fakatonga, the right behaviour in terms of respect within Tongan society, to deny a relation access to land, residence, employment or a share in family success. If these are characteristics of a peasantry, one can only say that they are common 369 to all of Tonga, rural and urban. Town dwellers are inescapably 434 bound up with the land. They own it as much as villagers, they rely on it to supplement wages kept low on the assumption of an additional 423 income from agriculture, they value it as a means of fulfilling family obligations and as a measure of their social importance and they depend on it for food. There would be few established household heads, even the most wealthy and the most "urbanised", who do not have a son or relation on their land or on land acquired through their 592 influence. It is the function of a successful household head to find employment for as many of his family as possible. The labour commitment is total and the basic unit of economic organisation is the family, controlled and directed at least to some extent by the 592 household head.[20] A typical family would endeavour to have some 434 member in paid employment, some on the land and some in the "bazaar" sector of the town's economy—a small grocery shop, in the making of [182] handicrafts and other side-line businesses. This diversity in family employment provides material security in an economy which offers insufficient full wage employment; it also indicates the economic obligations borne by the chef d'entreprise towards his kin.

556 437 [369] [465] It should be clear that everyone in Tonga is to some extent involved in a money economy, the town dweller somewhat more than the villager but this has not yet led to any noticeable individualisation. There is little evidence of individuals trying to opt out of reciprocal

kin obligations and there is even a reluctance to accept payment for many jobs. Carpenters interviewed indicated that they were often called upon to effect out-of-work repairs and to assist with house construction. None accepted any money payment for their services. Even those Tongans who do accept payment from other Tongans invariably put the onus of ascertaining the price on the receiver of services, thus keeping the relationship within a gift context similar to that enjoyed between kin. This apparent lack of money consciousness, which is not as naive as it sometimes appears, is also seen in the running of kava clubs and kautaha koko'anga, associations of women who make tapa cloth. When these community groups accumulate profits there is little evidence of saving and none of investment motivation. Money is to meet basic and usually immediate needs; it enhances one's respect only when it is used and shared among kin. Accumulation is pointless when one has so many poor relations.

The political organisation of the town is identical to that of the villages except, of course, for the presence of the central government. Ma'ufanga is part of the tofi'a of a noble while Kolomotu'a and Kolofo'ou belong to government. A town officer is responsible to government for each of the town's three villages. At monthly fono these officers inform taxpayers of the government's intentions but there are few laws which apply exclusively to the town. Nuku'alofa is thus perceived and governed as three villages over which the government rules in a manner similar to that of the chiefs of old. Most leadership within the town, whether elected or nominated, is determined along lines of rank and position common to traditional Tonga. While chiefs without government posts have lost some prestige, those with high government posts who do not have chiefly connections are rare indeed.

At the beginning of this discussion it was suggested that the inhabitants of Nuku'alofa meet few challenges peculiar to an urban environment and that most rural and Tongan attitudes are carried over into the town with little or no modification. Its very "ruralness" enables urbanisation to proceed with so few signs of stress. It would, however, be false to assume that the town exerts no new pressures on the rural migrant. Some of these are really rural pressures intensified in an urban setting. It is, for instance, the increased shortage of land and employment, made worse by the rural influx, together with the greater opportunities presented by the town which has been largely responsible for the increase of crime. This is seen in a recent statement by the Director of Education:

> "There is a most dangerous situation developing in the town of Nuku'alofa and within its precincts. Unemployment is rising rapidly. During the next ten years 1,400 employees will retire

245 rhinocerous beetle has damaged a large percentage of trees. The banana crop has recently been infected with a fungus, black leaf streak disease, to such a degree that many of the growers have stopped planting commercial crops, and in the remaining plantations the yield is insufficient to allow profitable harvest. Damage done by careless packing and [439] improper storage during shipment is resulting in the dissatisfaction of importers.

241 [162] [463] The 1966 Census of Tonga shows that 66.6 percent of all adult males were engaged in agriculture (Fiefia 1968: 28). Table 3 gives a full breakdown of occupation of Tongan males.[A] Agricultural techniques are a [177] [178] mixture of the traditional techniques-swidden agriculture, bush fallow periods, and hand tools-and modern methods including the use of fertilizers, light machinery and single crop planting. The older techniques 241 are still the more widely used. A friable, well-drained, and easily- 134 worked soil is the predominant type. Maude (1965: 12-18) gives a fairly detailed discussion of Tongan soils, their fertility, and their geologic origins.

241 [656] Tongan agriculture is subsistence oriented and cash-cropping remains a secondary consideration for most Tongans, with the exception that law requires the planting and maintenance of a certain number of 464 coconut palms. Wage labor provides income for only a few (Table 3) and 465 wages are low, averaging somewhere between $T1.00 to $T1.75 a day; most wage labor positions are in the area of services.[1][B]

A. [See p. 19--Analyst] B. [Footnote appears on p. 122--Analyst]

79: Lātūkefu H,I, M-4,5 (1964-1965) 1974
(1822-1875)
OU9 Tonga OU9

The commoners followed their chiefs as they had always done, for fear of immediate punishment and divine retribution.

For their own interest the priests, in particular, were anxious to keep the commoners' fear alive. Although the priestly class in Tonga did not have the same socio-political importance which the members of their order enjoyed in some other places in the Pacific, they were still treated by the Tongan people with considerable respect and fear. The veneration offered to a priest depended upon the rank of the god who inspired him. Although the power of the priests was second only to that of the chiefs, it was more religious in nature. Their power to curse *(talatuki)* was revered by all (West 1865:257). They were always consulted as to the will of the gods with regard to sickness, natural disaster, voyages, war and so on, and a very high fee was charged for the consultation (Watkin, Journal, 7 Feb. 1834).

It was obvious from the beginning that the intrusion of Christianity, with its strange and more sophisticated order of priesthood, meant the decline and in due course the disappearance of the traditional priesthood, together with all the power, honour and privileges its members had enjoyed for centuries. This was a significant loss and, as might be expected, the members of the old order were prepared to fight to retain their position.

Describing the state of affairs in his station Thomas (1879:57) wrote:

> The priest and priestess now seeing that . . . the Tonga worship was being brought into great discredit, they gave utterances—while inspired by the gods, which roused some of the chiefs, who favoured them, to use means to put a stop to these disorderly proceedings. Some common persons, who had been bold enough to slight, or cast away the Tonga gods were beaten—and others were threatened—and all were termed foolish who had taken up at once with this new thing, which the *papalangis*—foreigners had brought.

After the death of a man at Hihifo, old Fai'ana, the priestess, told the people that she had a dream in which the deceased had told her that the missionaries had informed him that if he joined the *lotu* he would not die, intimating that the missionaries had lied (Thomas, Journal, 30 Jan. 1829). Again, after a severe storm one priest told the people that Pulotu Kātoa (one of the most

79: Lātūkefu H,I, M-4,5 (1964-1965) 1974
(1822-1875)
OU9 Tonga OU9

only a few additional provisions from the Huahine Code. The missionaries were a little disappointed with the outcome, since several things they would have liked to have seen included were absent; at the same time, they found in it much that was contrary to their views. The sentiment of the missionaries was expressed by Lawry who again visited Tonga at this time. On 5 July 1850, he recorded in his journal:

> The King is holding his court, and they have now fully agreed upon a Code of Laws, which are to be published forthwith. They are not all that we could wish them to be; and this I told the King and Chiefs; remarking especially on the mode of paying the Judges out of the fines levied on the offenders, which is sure to corrupt the seat of justice; but the King's apology was, 'we must do things little by little'.

In spite of their disappointment, the missionaries believed that, on the whole, the Code of 1850—with all its defects—was much in advance of the 1839 Code, and that it would, 'no doubt, prepare the way for something better still' (West 1865:213).

As in the 1839 Code, the influence of the missionaries was apparent. Emphasis on industrious habits was again a feature. Article XXXVI declared that men must work and persevere in labouring to support themselves and their families and to contribute to the cause of God and the Chief of the land. Anyone who refused to work was to be denied food or other assistance.

Quoting the above article as evidence, Thomson (1894:221) claimed that the missionaries designed the Code mainly for their own profit. 'Their hand', he wrote, 'is detected in the following excellent provision, designed to check the growing indolence of the people, and turn their labour into a channel of profit to the reverend legislators.'

On the other hand, the missionaries felt that they were only doing their duty in trying to inculcate in the minds of the Tongans that it was 'the duty incumbent upon professed converts to the Christian faith, and especially upon all members of the church, of personally contributing to the support and extension of missionary agencies' (West, 1865:141).

In the Law referring to Women (Article XXXVII) the duties of women included labouring to clothe their husbands and children.

79: Lātūkefu H,I,M-4,5 (1964-196?) 1974
(1822-1875)
OU9 Tonga OU9

671 laws to writing at the request of the King himself. These were
797 important functions, of course, for the King and his chiefs were
643 neither capable of deciding whether the laws which they wished
659 to enact were in accord with the legal requirements of civilised countries (a thing which the King especially wanted to achieve) nor of setting the Code down in written form.

643 The rift between the King and the missionaries did not affect
797 his acceptance of the Christian principles which they had taught him. He appeared to be absolutely convinced that the way of life that Christian civilisation had to offer was the best way of life for his people. Even when he decided to give up his positions in the Society as local preacher and class leader, he never ceased to be grateful for the work done by the Wesleyan missionaries for Tonga. In a speech which he delivered on a school examination day at Nuku'alofa in 1863, King George said:

> I wish to express publicly my thanks on behalf of myself and the Government to you the Wesleyan Missionaries, and through you to your Conference, for the strenuous, and generous efforts you make to instruct and elevate the people of this Kingdom. I feel that it is just and right for me to do this. I do not do it by way of flattery . . . I state now what is the true feeling of my heart. I cannot shut my eyes to the fact that whatever of good we have among us; civil or social, domestic or national, temporal or spiritual . . . we owe it all under God to that noble Christian Institution 'The Wesleyan Missionary Society', and you its indefatigable agents . . . . (Whewell to Eggleston, 27 Oct. 1863, WMMSA 1852-79)

He went on to say that thanks should be expressed by deeds as well as words and promised to replace the old chapel with one as good as he and his people could possibly build free of charge to the Society. He then donated 2,000 dollars towards the cost of the proposed new chapel. King George always supported the actual work of the mission, what he resented was the paternalism of the missionaries. Together with this was his suspicion that the missionaries were plotting against the much treasured independence of Tonga by trying to get the island kingdom for Great Britain.

The King still valued the missionaries' opinions on certain
693 matters. One of the things which worried them, for instance, was
465 the method used for payment of the judges. It consisted of the

79: Lātūkefu H,I, M-4,5 (1964-1965) 1974
(1822-1875)
OU9 Tonga OU9

distribution of convicted persons among them, as labourers. The missionaries believed that this kind of payment by convict labour would easily corrupt the seat of justice. They feared that the judges' decisions could easily be influenced by the knowledge that they would be paid for their work by having the prisoners who were about to be sentenced to work for them. In response to this a section of the 1862 Code requires that judges and the public officials should be paid salaries and that criminals should work for the state (Clause XXXVI:2 and 3).

The missionaries were not happy with leaving the punishment of offenders to the discretion of the judges. A spokesman for the missionaries discussed this with the King in 1850 after the promulgation of the Code of Laws of that year, but the King's reply was that he and his chiefs wanted to do things step by step (Lawry 1851:81). However, the experiences of the intervening years appear to have convinced King George that the view of the missionaries on this question was correct. In the 1862 Code there are specific penalties mentioned for infringements of the law and it is no longer left to the discretion of the judges.

Another matter which had caused some concern to the missionaries was the absolute power of the King, which they believed was far too great. While they were satisfied that King George exercised this power with great prudence and equity, they feared that such power would probably be quite unsafe in the hands of his successors. A response to this may be seen in the provision concerning the King which makes him subject to the laws in the same way as the people (Clause I:3).

From the start, the missionaries had recognised the importance of education in lifting the general standards of the people. One missionary wrote: "a great work remains to be done. There are multitudes of young persons growing up, who, if not blessed with a proper *training*,—physical, intellectual, moral, and religious—will be the pests of society, and worse than heathen, if possible' (*Wesleyan Missionary Notices*, Jan. 1859:10).

At first the Tongans showed great interest and enthusiasm for education but by the fifties many had become apathetic and the majority had ceased to attend school. One missionary wrote in 1857:

80: Maude K-5 (1961) 1971 OU9 Tonga OU9

The opportunities for developing non-agricultural employment for such people are strictly limited, and in any case wage rates at present assume that men are partly supporting themselves through agriculture. Now that the allocation of allotments is nearing completion discontent is already growing among those left without holdings. The second point is the need to ensure the efficient use of Tonga's limited resources of land, for by 1980 the overall population density will be about 640 persons per square mile of cultivable land, and the present low level of production and productivity in agriculture will have to be greatly increased if standards of living are to be maintained and improved.

One answer to the land problems of both the present and the future is to make as many allotments available as possible, and this includes continued government action to ensure that land is in fact allocated, particularly on hereditary estates, and that no one holds more than his legal entitlement. However, the maximum subdivision of all suitable land into eight-and-a-quarter-acre lots, leaving a small area reserved for the secondary schools and the Royal Family, would only increase the number of allotments to about 14,500. And about half of the additional holdings would be on the islands of Late (at present uninhabited), Niuatoputapu, Tafahi, and Niuafo'ou, islands which are unlikely to attract many settlers because of their isolation and lack of facilities. Division of the existing eight-acre allotments in half would increase the number of holdings to about 28,900, while raising the age of entitlement to land to twenty would reduce the number of men with a legal claim to an allotment, and few youths under twenty have any real need for their own land. This might be the fairest solution to the problem, since it would preserve the principle that each man is entitled to an allotment, but it would not necessarily lead to the most productive use of the land, for some allotments would be held by men who lacked either the inclination or the need to use their land effectively, while the efforts of the more enterprising commercial farmers would be further restricted.

The efficiency with which land is distributed and used might well be increased by varying the size of some allotments. The requirements of men permanently employed in urban occupations could be met by dividing holdings near the towns into one-acre garden lots and with the rapidly increasing population of Nuku'alofa this seems the only way in which land can be provided for urban dwellers. The alternative is substantially to increase wages, which does not seem economically possible, and

241 indicated membership in other planting organizations, most
476 of which required members to plant bananas, yams, and other crops on their own land, in accordance with a pre-determined quota. To insure that the crops are planted and well-maintained the members periodically inspected each member's allotment.

Another form of kautaha is the kautaha le'o vao; its main purpose is to patrol bush allotments to prevent theft of agricultural products, especially coconuts for making
[184] copra. These groups seem to be much more prevalent in the
[464] Ha'apai group and only four households of the Tongatapu sample of 138 households indicated membership, while 9 indicated that they paid kautaha to patrol their allotments.
[465] The payment is generally a small amount of cash or mature
241 coconuts. In most cases, the villagers on Tongatapu seem to be content to look after their crops themselves.

241 There are also many households who pay independent
464 kautaha ngaue to work on their allotments. These paid kautaha serve a similar function to the kautahe toungaue and are often hired when large amounts of labor are needed. Of 140 sample households, 33 percent had paid others to work on their land during 1971.

476 Women's communal work groups are also common and
287 include the koka'anga, the toulanganga, and the toulalanga. The koka'anga and the toulanganga both function in the preparation of tapa cloth. The koka'anga is performed when

89: Wood M,Y-4,5 (1924-1937) 1975
OU9 Tonga OU9

[1885 - 1892]

It was soon apparent that reunion was impossible. The wounds were still too deep for the Wesleyans, and the fomented fears of a foreign ecclesiastical affiliation were too strong for the Free Church party. In 1894, General Conference resolved that there should not be

> "any continuation of the attempt to bring about a union of the two Churches . . . but to work quietly side by side . . . and by acts of kindness and conciliation endeavour to secure the present harmony and future union of the two Churches."

These were wise words, but the "future union" did not come for another thirty years.

The Free Church held its Annual Conference after the pattern of the Wesleyan Conferences in Australia and New Zealand. Watkin was elected President every year. Baker attended as a minister and supported Watkin, from 1885 until 1889. From 1885 onwards salaries for Tongan ministers were fixed at a much higher rate than in the Wesleyan Church. The full name, as stated in the Constitution of 8 August 1885, "Free Wesleyan Church of Tonga", was used in the Minutes of the first three Conferences, but "Free Church of Tonga" was substituted from 1888, without any resolution authorizing the change. The 1888 Conference decided to send a donation for work among Maoris and Chinese; this was in lieu of missionary collections sent by the Wesleyan Church and a substitute also for giving workers for overseas fields. A branch of the Free Church was established in Samoa for the benefit of Tongans living there; it lapsed after a few years. Later, another branch was set up in the Lau group of Fiji for local Tongans.

Despite criticisms such as Basil Thomson had expressed about the state of religion in general, the small Wesleyan Church showed signs of spiritual strength as well as denominational loyalty. Persecution had refined the lives of its members. They also cherished the Moulton tradition of academic learning and biblical scholarship, notwithstanding the element of elitism which this gave. In a different sense the Free Church, much larger, showed its loyalty as well as an elation due to complete local control. Whatever Watkin's motives had been for deserting his former Church, he was always anxious that Methodist principles and piety should be preserved among his people.

The Wesleyans were distinguished by their participation in overseas service. George Brown, as Missionary Secretary, stimulated this spirit. Offers of service from ministers and pastor-teachers were readily made for the new Mission that Brown established in Papua (Islands Region) in 1891. Other Tongan missionaries served in New Britain and, later, in the Solomon Islands.

After the departure of Moulton (1888) and Crosby (1892), the Wesleyans generally had only one missionary. James A. Bowring, who arrived in 1890, was in charge of the Church from 1892 to 1895. James Egan Moulton, B.A., born in Nuku'alofa in 1869, and educated at the Leys School, Cambridge, with his uncle, Dr. Fiddian Moulton, and at Newington College, Sydney, followed his father in the ministry and served at Tupou College for seven years, 1896-1903 (and at times in 1893-6 before entering the ministry).

Dr. Moulton, absent from Tonga since 1888, made a brief visit in September 1891, when he met the king and was received cordially after the many years of estrangement. He was anxious to return to work in Tonga and, in November 1892, the General Conference Committee on Tongan Affairs discussed the matter at great length for three days and decided against his return.

89: Wood M,Y-4,5 (1924-1937) 1975
OU9 Tonga OU9

Tupou I's Queen), had 48 students in 1928 and increased steadily afterwards, under the direction of Miss Gwen Blamires and, later, Mrs. M. E. Thompson. The Primary School in Nuku'alofa had 288 pupils in 1927 and was the largest school of any kind in Tonga at that time.

A Government scholarship scheme from 1929 enabled some students from any secondary school to enter Newington College, Sydney; and others went to the Central Medical School in Suva which had been established by the Rockefeller Foundation, with support from various Pacific Islands Governments. In 1928 Tupou College, Nafualu, sent to tour Australia a choir of 30 boys, including the present king; a second, smaller choir toured the Australian States from December 1932 to April 1933.

In 1931 an Education Commission, appointed by the Government, recommended a division in secondary education — Tupou College to train future teachers and the Government College to concentrate on agricultural and technical education. It advised also that primary education should be left to the Missions, with Government subsidies. Because of party feeling, along Church and College lines, these recommendations lapsed.

For Page it was regrettable that the world-wide depression of 1929 and following years, with the very low price of Tonga's staple product, copra, gravely limited the Church's expansion. The Nuku'alofa church could not be built. Money could not be found for educational progress. The European ministers voluntarily took a percentage reduction in stipends. The teachers in Free Wesleyan schools did even more; some went month after month with no salaries and no complaints. A widowed Australian teacher, Mrs. M. E. Thompson, in charge of Queen Salote College and, afterwards, Siu'ilikutapu College, Vava'u, took no salary for a considerable part of her term of 22 years. From 1934 the Mission Board decided to pay the salaries of the European staff, not only as a relief to the Tongan Church, but to honour the principle that European workers were a gift from Australia to the indigenous Church. This action also rebutted any criticism from the seceding Churches that the cost of European staff was an obstacle to reunion. Page, who bore the brunt of post-union problems, waited for eleven years to take furlough.

By 1938 the Free Wesleyan Church had 25 primary schools with 2,266 pupils; with no grants, the buildings were inadequate and the teachers' salaries very low. The inequality of poll-tax assessments for students sixteen years and over had been a bone of contention since the Government College students had always been granted a concession of half-tax; partisanship delayed the granting of equal concessions to all College students until 1932.

Theological training for ministerial candidates waited until 1933 because of the surplus of ministers after union. The first theological students were accommodated at a wing of Tupou College, Nafualu; they were nine in number and included Sau Faupula, who became the first minister in the Pacific Islands to gain the Diploma of Licentiate in Theology, Melbourne College of Divinity.

* * * *

Changes in church procedure and in forms of worship came slowly, through the conservatism of the people who feared to depart from the practices of the early missionaries, and often through the opposition of the chiefs. The question of allowing preachers to wear the Tongan skirt *(vala)* was debated for some years.

89: Wood M,Y-4,5 (1924-1937) 1975
OU9 Tonga OU9

suddenly of a heart attack. His great-great-grandfather was Fatu with whom Walter Lawry stayed in 1822-3. His great-grandfather was 'Ulakai, the first convert of the two Tahitian teachers in 1826. In Church and State Tungi stood loyally beside the Queen with sound advice and unwavering integrity. He was beloved of his people in the Mu'a district, being generous in his allocation of land. Always a leader among old students of Tupou College, he was honoured by them in the erection of the Tungi Mailefihi Memorial Building at Tolua in 1957.

Before the war, Tupou College had grown to 400 students and Queen Salote College to 170, all being boarders. In 1947 the boys were removed from Nafualu to Tolua, near Fua'amotu, 14 miles south-east of Nuku'alofa, for the sake of more gardening land; the enrolment grew to 700 in post-war years. Day girls were admitted to Queen Salote College until the number grew to 750; this school has an outstanding reputation for both academic and domestic training, as well as participation in national dances on important occasions. In 1949 middle schools were formed in various centres; this avoided overcrowding at the Colleges and improved the standards in Ha'apai, Vava'u and other places. The financial burden on the Church continued to grow heavier, even though, for instance, the head teacher in a Church school had only the same salary as a beginner on a Government school staff. The women of the Church in Australia gave some help, for example, with the building of the dormitory for 200 girls at Siu'ilikutapu College in Vava'u.

After the removal of Tupou College to Tolua, the property at Nafualu was used, from 1948 onwards, as a combined Theological College and Bible College, the latter for church stewards who were virtually assistant pastors in smaller villages. The Queen gave it a new name, Sia'atoutai, the place where nets are prepared for fishing. From 30 the number grew in 1970 to 126, with six young women training as deaconesses. The Rev. R. A. W. Woodgate was most successful in preparing students for the L.Th. examinations in 1951-61. By 1961 seven had gained the L.Th. at Sia'atoutai. After 1965 all L.Th. subjects were taught by Tongan teachers.

As the long-delayed project of building the Centenary Church finally developed, it was necessary to remove the building erected by the old Free Church in 1888. Accommodating 800, it was an excellent example of Tongan architecture. The large roof and supports were moved as one unit, mounted on two motor-trucks and 24 carts, with hundreds of willing helpers. What seemed the impossible feat of transporting this heavy structure intact more than 300 yards was accomplished in the presence of the Queen.

The new concrete church took almost three years to erect. It is 184 feet by 70 feet, with an imposing clock-tower, the largest church in the South Pacific, seating over 2,000. The architect was Mr. W. C. Brown and the foreman of works, Mr. R. L. Pearson, both of Sydney; the Tongan foreman was Amini Fonua. Much of the work was done voluntarily by church people. The actual cost was £40,000. On 27 September 1952 it was opened by the Queen and dedicated by the visiting ex-President-General, Dr. H. G. Secomb.

On the whole, the Free Wesleyan Church may well feel that it has benefited greatly from royal approval and encouragement. The Queen was always wholeheartedly involved in the faith and witness of the Church at every level. This was much more important than the exercise of her constitutional prerogative of approving the election of the President of Conference each year. Whether the

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476 It may also happen that such a kautaha will hire themselves out for
[465] money to another villager by building him a house for a wage of, say, 30 pounds.

Such men's kautaha are found in most villages. Often they exist for a certain time only, for example a year, and the members then separate and look for other temporary or more permanent combinations. Much more
476 significant in village life are the women's kautaha. Their sole
287 purpose is to make, in a cooperative endeavor, long lengths of tapa
285 and large mats for individual members who furnish the raw material (raw tapa or cleaned /96/ strips of pandanus leaves). For example,
[461] seven women will work five days a week (on Saturday they prepare for Sunday) and on each day will plait one mat, so that in the end five women will receive their portion of the work and the next week the
476 other two will be supplied. Usually a capable older and more experienced man is "president" of such a kautaha; he is elected by the group for one year and may be reelected. In every Tongan village there is at
[368] least one such women's kautaha, and almost all villages have special kautaha houses for the aforementioned types of work. (270)

[592] 270. A count in the 100 households of the village of 'Uiha (in April 1952) showed, for example, that at the time, in each of 59 households there was one female (wife, daughter, resident relative) who was a member of a women's kautaha, whereas in eight households there were two each, and in one household three females belonged to a kautaha. In 32 households no one was a member of a women's kautaha.

These kautaha are far more long-lasting than those of the men. Thus on Nomuka the four women's kautaha, the largest of which has 18, and the smallest six co-workers, were set up in the years 1922, 1942, 1945 and 1948. Based on the type of work-they accept only a specific number of members. If a member dies, usually her daughter or a relative

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320. S. is, of course, speaking very radically. A few commoners have indeed succeeded in being promoted to the highest administrative positions.

[465] At the top' are often those who were not as good in school as he, who did not accomplish as much, and now earn 40 £T. a month, and the ones who, by their own efforts, struggled through in New Zealand and are capable, have subordinate positions and earn 10 to 15 £T.; they are obliged to start at the very bottom, yet they know better than 'the ones at the top' how the work up there should be done..."

829 In answer to the objection that there is, after all, no indigence in Tonga, that there is enough food for everybody and that life seems peaceful and, on the whole, happy, since every Tongan can own a house and land and even money for his copra work, he says: "But we are not free, we cannot influence government affairs or domestic policy."

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[799] The ancient Tonga state centrally ruled by a godlike Tu'i Tonga has thus passed away, and Tonga is today a state with a European-like structure accepted by the world of Whites. This change succeeded chiefly because, when it began, the uppermost power of the state was already dissolved, and the capable personality of Taufa'ahau on his way to supreme power was supported by the Wesleyan missionaries. The development was also able to run a peaceful course because Tonga, as a protectorate, retained a certain independence and therefore could preserve essential traits of its old government. In the person of Crown Prince Tungi, the future king, the three sovereign lines of Tonga were united, and the aristocracy has the key positions in the government. The complicated system of the constitutional monarchy which in its peculiarities and possibilities is actually foreign to the natives and difficult for them to understand, functions--with the more or less obvious guidance of Europeans--as well as it can under the

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412 The large machete (hele pelu) is generally bought readymade
[439] (total length 60-70 centimeters), and is easily obtainable in the commercial centers of the Archipelago. The knife tip which is bent
[824] slightly upwards is usually cut off. The frequently broken handles are skilfully replaced by self-made wooden shells (feta'u wood). This machete is an all-purpose instrument. In house-building it serves for the most diverse tasks wherever something needs to be cut, knocked off, or leveled (planed), and for many Tonga it replaces the small transverse hatchet. Beyond that, the knife has a wide range of uses in the hands of men, women and children, from cutting finger- and toenails to various tasks on the plantations.

342 Many Tongans (especially commoners) feel it is important to erect
463 what they regard as a well-built, solid dwelling on their property, and
331 secure the help of a specialist who carries out the work with several helpers (relatives of the "owner," his friends and other villagers). If, later, a second house is needed on his place, he usually builds it himself (alone or with the help of members of the family and other relatives or friends).

In 'Uiha/'Uiha (Ha'apai), in 1952, 76 dwellings with ancient Tonga ground plan were carefully examined.

342 Of these, 54 were built by house builders (or Tongans who were
463 regarded as house builders). Until recent times their work was acknowl-
465 eged only with food. In only seven cases was the builder paid with money
331 (sums between 8 and 40 $ T.); four of these cases involve an impoverished refugee from Niu Fo'ou who, in 1951, worked only as house builder in 'Uiha, hence these cases should be regarded as exceptions. In two cases that took place 50 years ago, the builder was remunerated with mats and tapa, while in a case that occurred 30 years ago a rather large quantity of coconut-fiber cord (kafa) was given.

342 The remaining 22 houses were built by natives who are not special-
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[ʻUiha (Haʻapai)]
[Fungamisi (Vavaʻu)]

331 /137 cont./
342 ists. In 15 cases the owner of the property was his own builder, in
463 seven cases relatives, friends or villagers built the house for him. Of these structures, 19 were built after 1940.

In rare cases were houses built by builders of "laymen" alone.
[465] Usually as many as eleven helpers worked together, whose work was remunerated only with food.

342 The cost of materials for all houses (ancient Tongan ground plan)
435 range from 0 (only native material, or donated old corrugated metal and building timber) to 70 £T. (new corrugated sheet metal, building timber, nails).

342 /138/ In the same town, the same year, 19 European-type dwellings
463 were carefully examined. Of these, one was built about 50 years ago by
331 a white man, 15 were erected by Tongans who are house-builders (or regarded as such), and three structures were put up by natives who were not specialists, for their own use (some 50 years ago). Here
[465] too the work of the builders was largely acknowledged only with food. In two cases (1908 and 1943) the builders were paid with mats and tapa and in three cases (1910, 1951, 1951) with money (6 - 10 £T.). The helpers involved (1-8) each received only food. The cost of material
[435] for these buildings runs between 20 £T. (material bought secondhand) and 400 £T. (good material, medium-sized house).

Corresponding surveys in the same year in Fungamisi/Vavaʻu showed:

[465] Of 24 carefully examined dwellings with ancient Tongan ground plan, only five were erected by house-builders (or by Tongan regarded as house-builders); four of these were self-built, in the fifth case the work was acknowledged only with food. The remaining 19 houses were put up by Tongans who are not specialists; in 18 cases the natives built for themselves, in one case a son coming from another

331 /138 cont./
342 village built a house for his mother. Fourteen of these "laymen"
463 buildings were put up after 1940. The builders or "laymen" seldom
[602] worked alone. In most cases they had up to five helpers (often
[465] relatives) whose work was acknowledged only with food. In many cases
[435] there was no outlay for building material, since the builders limited themselves to native raw materials or were given only corrugated metal and building timber; for the rest of the buildings,
331 up to 12 £T. was spent for corrugated metal, building timber and nails.
342 . Of 16 European-type houses examined at the same time, 11 were
197 built by Tongans who are house-builders (or regarded as such). The
463 work of the builders (some of whom were relatives) was acknowledged
[602] only with food, except in two cases; one was given building material
[465] (wood), the other was given money. Five houses were built by non-specialist natives for themselves.--Altogether, two houses were built individually. For the rest of the 14 structures, 2 to 20 helpers were
[465] co-workers. Their work was here too acknowledged only with food while they were building, except for one case in which money was given. For
[435] building material--aside from gifts--between 20 £T. (old material) and 1000 £T. (good material, very large house) was spent.

342 These investigations can give us various clues. We realize that most Tongans are apparently still capable of building by themselves (Fungamisi example) a simple dwelling (ancient Tongan ground plan).
[463] However, as a result of the "liberation" of the people, the house-
[331] building specialists, of whom there were some even in ancient Tonga, seem to have obtained a greater range of work insofar as many commoners
342 depend on them for help (as did many chiefs in former times). The
178 wish to have a well-built house in ancient Tongan style is considerably greater, according to the figures quoted above, in a more remote village like 'Uiha than in a settlement near a harbor, like Fungamisi

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342 where, considering the buildings in the seaport of Neiafu, the old-
178 style Tongan houses may be regarded as mostly self-built makeshifts in a light construction. (367)

367. See p. 193.

342 The dissemination of "European-type construction" (wood-corrugated
177 metal-rectangular buildings) need not necessarily--on the basis of the
463 aforementioned figures--lead to an increase in house-building specialization; some skillful Tongans, even as "laymen," know how to build such types of houses. (368)

368. All European-style houses are, incidentally, today built by Tongans without guidance by whites. The natives can also build a European shed on concrete bases and even know how to make concrete tiles by themselves (from the necessary imported material).

(333)

342 Moreover, we learn that money which circulates rather freely in the
436 Archipelago has heretofore played no great role in the employment of
463 house-builders. The efforts of specialists and helpers are mainly
465 acknowledged, in the old way, simply with good food (earth oven)
331 during the building. (369)

369. Even in the "modern" work of erecting European-style structures.

342 The building material for the construction of a house with the ancient
435 Tongan ground plan and coconut-palm covering can still, as in old
178 times, be procured without financial expenditure, so that the entire process can be carried through without an outlay of cash, (370)

370. If the "owner" does not have enough pigs and products from his plantation at his disposal, he will of course have an indirect cash outlay in buying flour, sugar, corned beef, etc., in order to feed the builders.

and only with the cost of good food for all workers; this applies to a remote settlement ('Uiha) as well as to a village near a seaport (Fungamisi).

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501 178 177 replaced the ancient Tongan catamarans (kalia). (469)

469. Natives of Vava'u also use the motor boats belonging to Neiafu merchants in fishing with the towline (fakatele).

226 292 178 824 /181/ The sandals (teka) plaited from the bast of the fau tree (Hibiscus tiliaceus) are today still worn by the men (sometimes also by the women) when they fish on the rough coral reefs.

415 226 824 177 Fish are transported in part in the traditional fish baskets ('oa) plaited of young coconut palm leaves; (470)

470. These are apparently the ones Mariner refers to in his account (J. Martin, loc. cit. I. p. 309.)

however, they often use European bags, while the small fish--apparently according to ancient custom--are strung on sticks stuck through their heads.

286 463 According to Mariner (471)

471. J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 96.

[178] net-knotting in ancient Tonga was a hereditary craft. Nowadays, to all appearances, it is not, though in every village there are a few natives (especially older ones) who are able to make fish nets. As in [824] old times, they use a knotting shuttle (netting needle) (hika) which [239] is carved from the wood of the tao tree (Casuarina equisetifolia L.) or of the milo tree, or a sperm whale bone, and a measure for the meshes (mata kupenga) cut out of tortoise shell or fau wood (Hibiseus tiliaceus). An old razor blade serves as knife. They buy the necessary amount of twine for making the net and ask one of the [465] experts to knot a fish net; usually his work is acknowledged with a small gift (for example, tobacco). Since they are thus dependent 229 [463] on the work of a specialist and the twine also costs a certain sum of [426] money, not every household nowadays owns nets; they lend them to each [178] other. The situation was probably similar in ancient Tonga, through the supply of fish nets was in general probably greater.

/233 cont./

501 small sail (made of European cloth, seldom a mat) for which they put
501 up a small mast. They use the popao to cover the distance between
505 islands lying close together, (615)

615. They seldom use the popao for greater distances, as did a Nomukan, for instance, who, in 1951, traveled 14 sea miles with it across the open sea.

for various methods of fishing (see above) and, on account of their slight draft, to board and leave the small sailboats lying at anchor, as well as to load and unload the latter.

396 824 The natives like to make the hull of the popao from the trunk of the breadfruit tree (Artocarpus altilis), but they also use the mango (Mangifera indica L.), the tavahi (Rhus taitensis Guillemin), the toi (Alphitonia zizyphoides [Spreng.] A Gray), the mohe-mohe and, if possible, the tamanu. Men who have particular experience in boat-building, but also those who are doing this work for the first time in their lives, cut the hull of the boat, which is about three to five meters long, out of /234/ one piece of trunk. They also like to
(438) (435) "export" roughly hewn hulls from islands were the aforementioned types of wood occur in greater abundance to islands that are poor in them; on Nomuka, for instance, they pay 10 £T. (breadfruit tree wood) to 15 £T. (tamanu wood) for such an unfinished boat imported from 'Eua.

396 (465) The owner of the boat-to-be may do the work himself, or a man experienced in boat-building who is provisioned or remunerated (who may receive, for examply, 2 £T. or a horse) does the work. Often the (476) men work in twos or threes, with relatives (for example, son, father, son-in-law, father-in-law, cousin), friends or other villagers helping. (462) Boat-building is purely men's work.

396 412 To hollow out the dugout, which has been roughly hewn with axes and transverse hatchets, they use especially the small transverse hatchet toki unga ko (with the gouge blade, see p. 200-202). They also

/239 cont./

463 tailor (seamstress) and hair-stylist are occupations carried on only in the administrative and business centers of Nuku'alofa (Tongatapu), Pangai (Lifuka) and Neiafu (Vava'u); the rest are represented on the small islands of the Archipelago. Many members of these professions also own plantations and cultivate them as far as they are able.

463 868 In the skilled trades there is no systematic instruction even today. The young Tongan who is interested in a certain activity takes part in the work wherever he feels he can learn something, until he feels confident enough to carry out the work independently and his /competence is/ acknowledged by the community. Natives of the smaller islands who wish to become carpenters, for instance, prefer to go to the chief towns of the Archipelago to perfect their skill. (638)

638. The carpenter and blacksmith Vilingia on Nomuka, for example, even traveled to Fiji where he received systematic training.

463 874 Clergymen, teachers and physicians are given systematic training, the two former in special seminaries on the main island (more seldom in Australia or New Zealand), the latter at the Central Medical School /cited in English/ in Fiji. Employees in the administration are also systematically trained if it seems necessary (for instance, telegraph service).

463 183 178 Whereas in ancient Tonga the performance of duty towards the chiefs was implicit in the idea of a vocation, a present-day vocation carries with it the idea of achievement for the benefit of the doer himself and for all strata of the population. The person who practices a profession is no longer directly dependent on the nobility. In place of work that was acknowledged through gifts or was unrewarded, there is now payment for most professional activity. All Tongans in the service of the government receive fixed salaries

463 465 198

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463 (or wages); the congregations pay their clergymen; and workmen are
465 paid in money for their services, by nobles as well as commoners
178 (or else their work is acknowledged with good food); in business, finally, /240/ Tongan employees are also paid, while the independent merchants earn money through sale activity.

463 Vocational specialization, however, is only a complementary force in the general economic life. It is far from dividing up the population into various professional groups. Almost all Tongans still master the tasks needed for life on the islands. (639)

639. That is to say, agriculture, fishing, simple house-building and boat-building, domestic animal raising and copra production; the women today also generally know how to sew articles of clothing.

441 Businesses were unknown in ancient Tonga, if one means by business
178 an independent activity continuously practiced with a view to economic gain.

Today there is business activity, in this sense in the Archipelago,
[181] but relatively few natives engage in it. In general, the Tongans
439 lack a sense of acquisition. For instance, when white visitors arrive with the monthly steamer in the ports of Nuku'alofa and Neiafu, the natives, even in these "urbanized" settlements, do not offer to sell them handwork (baskets, mats, fans, tapa, etc.), (640)

640. A recent exception are two natives who make tortoise-shell jewelry (rings, bracelets with silver inlay) specifically for this purpose (as handicraft).

and Europeans often have the greatest difficulty in getting a coveted "souvenir"; /cited in English/ usually they depart without such handicraft. (641)

641. Conditions on Niue Island (about 300 sea miles east of the Tonga Archipelago) are just the opposite.

000 /240 cont./

opposite.

464 Nor do the Tongans like to hire themselves out for money--neither
465 to whites nor to their own people. There may be several reasons for
436 this attitude: First of all, these natives have considerably pride;
181 besides, the use of money in many areas of life is not in the Tongan tradition; (642)

642. See the request for things without quid pro quo (pp. 136-137) and the acknowledgement of work with good meals (pp. 137-139).

and finally, though money is quite useful to the natives of all the islands of the Archipelago (for going shopping at the stores), it is not all that vitally necessary, since they can themselves obtain everything that is absolutely essential for existence (except clothing) from the soil and the sea.

43 Thus today only a few Tongans who have a rather un-Tongan
181 enterprising spirit carry on a trade in the sense described above.
178 For example, in 1951/52 the native L., about 25 years old,
472 (who gained experience in Nuku'alfa as an auto mechanic, and also worked there as a carpenter and house painter and had visited Fiji and Samoa) buys himself an old broken down truck, on Tongatapu, for 90 £T. and spare parts for about 200 £T. He repairs the truck himself and has it transported to Lifuka on the auxiliary ketch "Aoniu," where he then drives it daily /241/ for hire by the islanders (especially
472 transporting copra and other freight, not so much passengers). In
477 order to "break into the business" and probably also because of genuine willingness to be helpful, L. charges 20 to 30 percent less
[434] for his trips than his "competitors." He takes in 6 to 7 £T. a day and will pay off the cost of the purchase of his vehicle in about three months.

472 St., who is about 20 years old, and says he has an English